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Semi-Annual Management Report
World Political Data and Analysis Program

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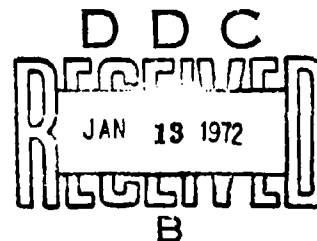
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Order Number: 1067
Project Code Number: NR 177-916
Name of Contractor: Yale University
Date of Contract: 1 September 1967
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Amount of Contract: \$355,500.00
Contract Expiration Date:
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Bruce M. Russett
H. Bradford Westerfield
Jeffrey S. Milstein
John D. Sullivan

Title: A World Political Data
and Analysis Program

The Director
Advanced Research Projects Agency
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the Management Report for the last two quarters covering work performed for July 1, 1971 - December 31, 1971.

EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Technical Problems and Accomplishments

A. During the past two quarters Mr. Russett continued his work on international relations theory. The book he edited from the 1970 American Political Science Association section on Peace Research (Peace, War, and Numbers) was sent to the publisher and has since been copy-edited. It is to be published in June 1972, and in addition to a long introduction by Russett contains articles by Messrs. Milstein and Sullivan prepared under the contract (see earlier reports) and an article by Russett not prepared under this contract.

Over the summer he and Alfred Stepan in the political science department at Yale held fortnightly seminars with a selected group of graduate students on problems of military policy. The students worked over, with intense supervision, papers on this topic that they had prepared during the academic year. In two cases substantial new research was required; largely computing in the one case, an extensive bibliographical search in the other. Work on these two papers was supported under the contract, and they will go into a volume edited by Russett and Stepan now under consideration by Harper and Row publishers. The papers are, respectively, "Changing National Priorities, 1947-71: Budgets, Presidential Perceptions, and External Environment," by Jong Rhoo Lee, and "The New Civil-Military Relations: An Annotated Bibliography," by Major Raoul Alcalá, U. S. Army, and Douglas Rosenberg. The former represents a highly sophisticated analysis of budgetary data and content analysis of public documents trying to account for shifts in military priorities and relating them to international events. The latter is a bibliography of approximately 1800 items, many of them annotated, and much more comprehensive than anything previously existing.

Mr. Russett's contract-supported article "A macroscopic View of International Politics" was to have been published in an edited

volume during the fall; publication has been delayed, however, and it will appear in January. He is currently pursuing research on the relationship between escalation and de-escalation in Vietnam and perceptions of certain economic events in the United States.

A contract-supported Ph.D. dissertation in political science was completed by Harvey Starr, and accepted by the University. It will be published as a book by D. C. Heath next year. Entitled, To the Victor Belong the Spoils, it is a quantitative analysis of the distribution of gains and losses among victors and losers in all international wars since 1815, testing a variety of hypotheses about the effect of power and community relations among states, concluding with some implications for United States policy in future wars or possible wars.

Another Ph.D. candidate associated with the project, Christopher Achen, was a discussant at the American Political Science Association meeting in September 1971 on a panel concerning "Formal Models of International Relations." Yet another student, Robert Harkavy, continues his partially contract-supported dissertation about the determinants of buyer-seller relationships in the international arms trade both before and after World War II.

In August Mr. Russett attended a conference on "The Comparative Analysis of Highly Industrialized Societies" in Bellagio, Italy, and immediately following that a conference on archives of time-trend data at Lausanne, Switzerland. He presented contract-supported papers at each: "The Rich Fourth and the Poor Half: Some Speculations About International Politics in 2000 A.D." in Bellagio, and "Some Decisions in the Regression Analysis of Time-Series Data" at Lausanne. He also discussed problems of archiving and data analysis with a variety of European and American scholars. In September he chaired a panel on alliances at the American Political Science Association meeting in Chicago. And in December he also chaired a panel which he had organized at the American Association for the Advancement of Science annual meeting in Philadelphia, on "Knowledge and Value Requirements for Peace."

Copy-editing of the second edition of World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators was completed by Yale University Press; the book will be published in mid-1972. Michael C. Hudson published a paper "Political Protest and Power Transfers in Crisis Periods: Regional, Structural, and Environmental Comparisons," in Comparative Political Studies in October.

Mr. Russett has also been engaged in a number of activities which, though not directly supported by the contract, are closely related to it. He lectured on "The Determinants of National Power," at the National War College in August. In July he attended a conference on quantitative analysis in political science at the University of Mannheim in Germany. In November he presented a paper on "Public Opinion on Military Expenditures" at the annual conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society in Chicago, and the following month gave "A Countercombatant Deterrent: Feasibility, Morality, and Arms Control" at a conference on the political sociology of arms control at the University of Chicago. His new book, No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry into World War II, will be published by Harper and Row in January 1972.

B. Professor Milstein has continued his research on the Arab-Israeli conflict and United States and Soviet involvement in that conflict. In particular, he has most recently investigated the question of what the systematic influence of the superpowers' economic aid, military aid, and trade with Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria has been in those countries' voting in the General Assembly of the United Nations on issues that were clearly disputes between the United States and the Soviet Union on a yearly basis from 1949 through 1967. These UN votes were taken as the concrete evidence of the political influence the U.S. and U.S.S.R. had over the Arabs and Israelis during this period.

Analysis shows that these Middle Eastern countries have been influenced in their UN voting over the years. Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia have been largely influenced to voting for the American position on Soviet-American issues in the UN. Although initially influenced to vote pro-American, Egypt and Syria changed radically to a pro-Soviet position starting in 1956, and Iraq changed radically to a pro-Soviet position starting in 1958.

The shift from pro-U.S. to pro-U.S.S.R. voting by the U.A.R., Syria, and Iraq is associated with the changing relative amount of trade or economic aid these countries have received from the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Saudi Arabia's and Lebanon's UN voting, however, is independent of these factors of trade and aid.

Variations in the arms race, the amount of Arab and Israeli violence, and domestic economic frustrations are generally independent of Arab-Israeli voting on Soviet-American issues.

There is clear evidence that neither the amount of American military aid to Israel and Jordan nor the amount of Soviet military aid to Egypt has had any systematic relationship over the years to the relative pro-American or pro-Soviet voting positions these countries have taken in the UN.

A major policy implication of this finding is that the superpowers have not been gaining more influence in the Middle East by supplying greater amounts of military aid to governments there. Supplying greater and greater amounts of military aid to Arabs or Israelis has deepened the superpowers' involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict, however, and increased the possibility of armed confrontation between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in the Middle East. Mutual control over further military involvement in the Arab-Israel conflict is greatly warranted.

C. Sullivan continued with his work on formal alliances and informal alignments. The book he co-authored with O. Holsti and T. Hopmann, International Alliances: Unity and Disintegration, went through the final revisions based on readers reports. This volume, which is a survey of alliance theories and an empirical testing of various hypotheses derived from those theories will be published early in 1972 probably by D. C. Heath. In addition, Sullivan continued to explore various models of informal alignments utilizing the extensive data set he developed for the original work in this area. The findings of these analyses will be reported in a forthcoming paper.

Russett and Sullivan wrote a paper entitled "International Organization and Collective Goods" which will appear in the Fall, 1971 issue of International Organization. In this paper, they discuss the general problem of creating a "collective good" in the international system when it appears that certain types of externalities--positive or negative--exist. The paper also treats a set of strategies available to actors who desire to create a collective good and assesses the utility of these strategies. In addition, Russett and Sullivan discuss some of the implications of collective goods theory for the various theories of international integration.

Sullivan also drafted a prospectus for a companion volume to the second edition of the World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators (Yale University Press, 1972) which is under consideration by Yale Press. This volume, which will be co-edited by Sullivan, Michael Hudson, and Charles Taylor, will contain a series of articles which illustrate ways in which the data in the World Handbook can be used. The project will support Sullivan's editing work as well as his contributions to the volume. He will write part of the introduction dealing with general problems of theory and measurement in the use of aggregate data and will contribute two papers. The first will be a revision of his paper dealing with foreign intervention in domestic conflict. This paper will explore a number of models which purport to explain such intervention. The second paper will be an examination of "life styles" on a cross-national basis employing selected data sets from the Handbook.

Sullivan also co-authored a paper with John Dow, Charles Taylor, and Bruce Russett describing the computer programs developed on the project for the manipulation and analyses of World Handbook data. These programs produce a variety of tables and graphics which provide one with the ability to describe aspects of various types of aggregate data such as those contained in the Handbook. This paper is being submitted to the Journal of Conflict Resolution.

In addition to these activities, Sullivan gave speeches at the Army War College and at the School for Advanced International Studies in Washington, D. C. describing his work in developing methods for the analyses of formal alliances and informal alliances as well as the work done on the Project in general.

DoD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations, thereby assisting the Department of Defense in its long-range logistical and strategic planning.

Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$288,800.00
Estimated expenditure to date	<u>183,905.00</u>
Remaining Funds	104,895.00

Action required of the government: none

Future Plans: No change to report at this time

AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Technical Problem

Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instances of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the national security decision process itself under such circumstances.

General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also intends to study the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study will converge to a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork will not be under DoD auspices.

Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a content analysis of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on national security in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs and defense activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. These data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each party what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientations that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those predispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis has also been made of Australian journals of opinion and of Australia's most significant newspaper, The Melbourne Age.

In the Summer and Fall of 1971 progress was made on extending the comparisons to include mass opinion tapped through survey research. The foreign affairs and defense questions on thirty-five Australian Gallup polls were run on the computer. The respondees' opinions on the five or six relevant questions on each individual poll were tabulated against the following variables: party supported at previous election, economic class, religion, age, sex, urban-rural residence, and state. Then controlling for party supported at previous election the opinions were tabulated against the remaining variables. Finally, controlling for both party and state residence, the responses were tabulated again against the remaining variables. The resultant printout for each question had approximately 100 tables, each of which was printed along with a chi-square significance test.

Although there were only a few questions which Gallup periodically repeated verbatim, many of the questions asked at different times were similar enough to produce trend lines. Graphs mapping Australian opinions on the following subjects were produced: involvement in Vietnam, the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation, the governing of Western New Guinea, the success of the United Nations, the acceptability of the United Nations as a world government, the creation and existence of foreign bases in Australia, military training, atomic testing, immigration, the relationship between Australia and New Zealand, the admission of China to the United Nations, trade with Communist China, recognition of China, and the nationality of the Governor-General. Along with division of opinion nationwide, graphs for each of the above topics were produced for all the variables previously mentioned except for state residence.

The next step has been to develop a combined code of issues and attitudes (directions and intensities) that would be applicable to all the national security discussion in the media and parliament which had been content-analyzed in previously stages of the research, and also to the opinion polls. This code is now being used in putting all three kinds of expression on punch cards, in order to explore by computer the extent to which legislators' statements coincide with the mass currents of opinion and with the intellectual and journalistic elite statements, and to what extent they lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region.

DoD Implications

The research indicates an encompassing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it.

Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

Problems encountered: none.

Fiscal status:

Amount currently funded	\$64,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	\$4,568.83
Remaining funds	\$10,131.17

Action required of the government: none

Future plans: no change to report at this time.